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博 士 学 位 论 文

**Ubuntu 特色的地区主义：塑造更好的
南部非洲发展共同体？**

**Regionalism with Ubuntu features:
Shaping a better SADC?**

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摘要

本文的研究领域是以南部非洲地区为例的非洲区域一体化。尽管区域机构在非洲政治中的重要性越来越突出，它们的特征和表现却都没有达到人们的预期。本文共分六个章节，关注、并分析和讨论南部非洲发展共同体（南共体）集团的组织机构、措施、行为特点与现实状况。本文的主题是一体化中不可分割的经济、政治和社会压力。使用新区域主义理论（NRA）和 Ubuntu 的概念，本文探讨在南部非洲发展共同体区域化进程中所遇到的问题、挑战与机遇。关于南共体内设立的机构，本文还对其内外部参与者的行为和表现予以观察。其中包括强权政治，政治与经济利益，主权问题和冲突干预。本文采用具有 Ubuntu 特点的方法探讨地区主义，总体上针对的是南共体如何有效地整合；联盟中的团结、合作、发展，这些也是南共体自身的关键目标。本文采纳了诸如相互依存性、共同人性、社会的重要性、互联性以及关系构建等重要 Ubuntu 特色。论文最后就南部非洲发展共同体的个案经验能否在整个非洲大陆的区域化道路上起到示范作用做出了权衡。

关键词：南部非洲发展共同体；一体化；非洲联盟；地区主义；发展

Abstract

The study field of this thesis is regional integration in Africa through the example of the Southern African region. Regional institutions while they increasingly feature with prominence in the African politics, their characteristics and performance are not as per expectation. This research work, consisting of six chapters, focuses and gives an analysis and discussion of institutions, actions, behaviors and realities in the Southern African Development Community (SADC) bloc. The key themes are economic, political and social pressures for integration, which are inseparable features. Using the new regionalism theory (NRA) and the concept of Ubuntu, it discusses the problems, challenges and opportunities that the SADC encounters during its regionalization process. The paper also observes the action and behaviors of internal and external actors towards the established institutions in the bloc. They include power politics, political and economic interests, and issues of sovereignty and conflict intervention. The paper develops an approach to regionalism with Ubuntu characteristics, generally on how SADC can effectively integrate; for unity, cooperation and development in the coalition, which are SADC's key goals. The paper uses Ubuntu features such as interdependence, interconnectedness, common humanity, and the importance of community and relationship building. The paper finally weighs on whether the lessons of SADC regional case give an example effort for Africa's regionalization as a whole continent.

Keywords; Southern Africa, SADC, integration, African Union (AU), regionalism, development.

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List of Abbreviations

AEC	African Economic Community
AfDB	African Development Bank
AFTA	African Free Trade Area
ASEAN	Association of South East Asian Nations
AU	African Union
CES	COMESA-EAC-SADC
CFTA	Continental Free Trade Area
COM	Council of Ministers
COMESA	Community of East and Southern Africa
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
EAC	East African Community
ECA	Economic Commission for Africa
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
ESRF	Economic & Social Research Foundation
EC	European Community
EU	European Union
FANR	Food, Agriculture & Natural Resources
FTA	Free Trade Area
GATT	General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GDPPP	GDP per capita
ICC	International Criminal Court
ICPs	International Cooperating Partners
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IS	Infrastructure & Services
ISDSC	Inter-State Defense and Security Committee
LDC	Least Developed Countries
LPA	Lagos Plan of Action
MFN	Most Favored Nations
MIP	Minimum Integration Programme
NEPAD	New Partnership for Africa's Development
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NRA	New Regionalism Approach
OAU	Organization of African Unity
OECD	Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development
OPDSC	Organ on Politics, Defense, and Security Cooperation
PDS/PPDSC	Protocol on Politics, the Defense & Security Cooperation

PEMMO	Principles for Election Management, Monitoring and Observation
PVT	Private
RECs	Regional Economic Communities
REWC	Regional Early Warning Centre
RIA	Regional Integration Agenda
RISDP	Regional Indicative Strategic Development Plan
RTA	Regional Trade Agreement
SA	South Africa
SACU	Southern African Customs Union
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SADCC	Southern African Development Coordination Conference
SADC FTA	SADC Free Trade Area
SADC FTP	SADC Free Trade Protocol
SADC PF	SADC Parliamentary Forum
SARPPCO	Southern African Regional Police Chiefs Cooperation Organization
SEAC	SADC Electoral Advisory Council
SHDSP	Social and Human Development and Special Programme
SIPO	Strategic Indicative Plan for the Organ
SNC	SADC National Committees
TFTA	Tripartite Free Trade Agreement
TIFI	Trade, Industry, Finance and Investment
UNECA	United Nation's Economic Commission for Africa
US/ USA	United States of America
USAID	United States Agency for International Development

Chapter 1 Introduction

1.1 Background

Regional integration has become one of the most prominent issues of study within the field of IR (Pelkmans, 2001 and Chryssochoo, 2001). Since the late 1980s and early 1990s, regional integration has again become an attractive policy option in the world. The trend to create regional blocs is notable after Europe accomplished the world's most advanced multinational integrational organization. The European Union (EU) is considered as the most prominent integration case and serves as an outstanding inspiration for other regional organizations with efforts of similar purpose. Soderbaum (1996) and Herman et al. (2011) posit that the relevance of regional integration in Africa is not new. Indeed, history shows that regional integration in the continent has been a process of trial and error in negotiations that were often fraught with political difficulties. In 1963, with the formation of the Organization of African Unity (OAU, which later transformed into the present African Union/AU), Africa threw its hat in efforts to cooperate for the first time. OAU, which sought to unite the African States, was intended to achieve greater unity, economic growth and steer the continents towards peace. Baldwin (1997) and Mengesha (2009) note that there is a renewed interest in Africa concerning the need to work towards a strong regional economic integration (REI) project to promote economic growth. This interest resulted from the end of the cold war and the emergence of powerful trading blocs in other parts of the world.

First, at the continental level there is a strong belief that regional integration has the potential to accelerate Africa's development. Secondly, numerous signs are showing that Africa is finally waking up to the reality that sufficient political will and institutional capacity that exists at the national level is crucial for development integration at a regional level. According to the OECD (2010), the desire to integrate African economies on a regional, and ultimately continental, basis is strong. Hatzenberg (2011) points out that the aspiration of African leaders to integrate Africa provided the rationale for the Lagos Plan of Action (LPA). The LPA was an initiative of the OAU, adopted by Heads of State in April 1980. Its aim was to increase Africa's self-sufficiency and reduce dependency on Western countries by coming together as

African countries. About ten years later in 1991, the Abuja Treaty was signed to promote African solidarity and self-reliance. The treaty also promoted industrialization to promote an endogenous development strategy. This treaty came into force in 1994 and envisaged the development of an African Economic Community (AEC). Interestingly, Africa's leaders and partners are, on one hand, increasingly acknowledging the rising and untenable cost of the continent's isolated geography. They also recognize how it is fragmented politically and economically, including the isolation from international markets. On the other hand, it is evident that some countries are basking in the fortunes of historically high oil prices, and many others are struggling with power shortages and economy-crippling blackouts. Many notable continental constraints are due to lack of development; the improvement in productivity or efficiency in human endeavors coupled with a contradictory collection of legal, institutional and regulatory frameworks. These are challenges brought forward by regionalism and globalization. UNECA (2004) notes that the World Trade Organization's rules for the world trade system have increased global competition within the international markets, at the same time raising the stakes for Africa. Crawford and Fiorentino (2005) echo these sentiments. They believe that the slow progress of the recent multilateral WTO trade negotiations (under the Doha Development Round) seem to have further increased the creation and settlement of sub-regional regional economic integration schemes. The above factors have led many pessimists to dismiss African regional integration as a good idea that is not likely to happen. Diouf as quoted in McCarthy (1995) suggests that Africa should look into other theoretical schemes. These can be of the pan-African type (a 'United States of Africa') and desist from the neo-colonial type (a customs union). He suggests a replacement with simpler, more productive and cost-effective models of integration. Interestingly, the AU espouses and endorses the traditional model of top-down African regionalism, because it has a strong rhetorical basis, and it is significant politically. As a result, many integration arrangements have been established to further this goal, under the over-arching umbrella of the AU's plan to achieve a common continental market by 2028.

As a matter of urgency, African leaders now recognize, more than ever, the need to accelerate Africa's integration. The Economic Commission for Africa (ECA) championed regional integration efforts in 1994 and suggested that Africa be divided and grouped into regions for the purpose of economic development. As a result,

countries have committed themselves to various RIAs, and currently there is no country that is not a member of at least one RIA (Alemayehu and Haile, 2008). So, to speed up the regional integration process, African countries have also adopted foreign frameworks and programs. These include the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NePAD), the overarching development framework for the region. The United Nations, its agencies and such global bodies as the G-8 industrial countries recognize all of these programs (UNECA, 2004). This paper uses the case of the Southern African regional bloc, the Southern African Development Community (SADC). After three decades of its formation, the misery of the people of Southern Africa has not diminished. Just a few meaningful projects and policies have been developed within the SADC that have promoted "mutual benefit" and "development" (Taylor, 2003 and Tsie, 1996). Also, the record of regional integration remains elusive and unimpressive. Hentz (2005) notes that the SADC program was a prototype of developmental (regional) integration and cooperation. The ever-rising poverty numbers in the region is a damning evidence of SADC's failure to achieve its stated objectives of economic and social development through regional integration and co-operation.

This paper notes that development in the modern world is about power while African countries, as individuals do not hold any international power. The lack of power has rendered them incapacitated because only countries that wield power can command the use and re-distribution of resources in the global economy. African countries, powerless as they are cannot achieve much development simply because they have no means with which to attempt development. In line with the circumstances mentioned above, the subject of this study is to analyze and discuss the legal institutions, actions and behaviors in the SADC's regionalism. It also suggests ways to adapt a foreign concept of the NRA to the African setting. The study draws on the assessment of the problems and challenges together with the opportunities that the Southern African concept of Ubuntu can present. Most importantly, the SADC needs to react to its internal needs and demands during its regionalism process. As Hentz (2005) has concluded, the developmental content of the SADC has fallen into disrepute. That SADC has not, so far, succeeded in building even the economic bloc, shows its limitations, either of the treaties themselves or their implementation. It is now important to understand the implications for theory and policy implementation.

This paper uses the theory of a new regionalism approach (NRA) together with

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